

SPiRiT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED BY FRANK BLAIR FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Party of Dishonor.

When Governor Seymour stated that he could not with "honor" become the candidate of the Democratic Convention, he gave us a text of more than usual meaning. We have no concern with the suspicious and accusations of foul play which cloud the Convention. If Mr. Belmont managed the delegates as he manages his Jockey Club, and sold the candidates out like so many horses in a "pool" in the interest of Mr. Seymour, he must answer to his party. This dishonor attending his concern is of a more heinous description—a dishonor aiming at the dignity and peace of the republic.

Democracy is Revolution. It is idle to say that the men who nominated Francis P. Blair did not understand his platform. He is a shrewd man, and the representative of a family of more than ordinary political sagacity. He knew perfectly well, when he declared himself in favor of military interference with the Southern States, that he was appealing to the convictions of the Democratic party. He came to them bearing an honored sword; it was only by surrendering it, and offering to join a dishonored conspiracy, that he could find welcome and advancement. We have seen what a resolute but purposeless man like Johnson could do in distracting the nation. With Blair as President, or rather with the party he represents in power, with friends in Congress, and in the Executive, and in the Judiciary, and in the State Legislatures, and in the perpetual agency of pleas and statutes, he could with impunity assail the work of reconstruction, and order his military commanders to disperse the Legislatures of the South. Would the "reaction" stop here? We remember that the restoration of the Bourbons brought a worse fate of Bonapoleon than that of Louis XIV. The restoration of Democracy means the re-assertion of the slave power with the strength of anger and vengeance, and without the restraining influences of property. There is nothing more in the Democratic policy but vengeance and revolution, and General Blair is the representative of that feeling. The party has no sympathy with any sentiment of progress. It has an apology for every victory, and a regret for every triumph.

Democracy means repudiation. In the time of General Jackson the war-cry of the Democratic party was "bulion money." Every debt incurred by the nation was not only to be paid, but every dollar in circulation was to be represented by its value in gold. So tender were these Democrats of the national honor that they would not allow the banks the ordinary means of credit. Yet now the party is committed to repudiation. Already its most widely circulated newspapers demand the abandonment of the whole debt. The "plough-boys" are called upon to overthrow the "bondholders," and the debt incurred in the prosecution of an "unholy war" is to be swept away by the friends of the Rebellion. No matter what misery may come to widows and orphans—no matter for the shame that foreign nations will heap upon us—this debt must be disclaimed, or, if paid at all, paid in greenbacks—although the contract, express and implied, stipulated that it should be paid in gold. In other words, to gratify the ambition and hatred of these followers of a beaten Rebellion, the proud name of America is to become a by-word and mockery, and the boasted honor of our people to be no better than the "honor" which prevails among the Barbary pirates or the Princes of Abyssinia.

The triumph of Democracy means the triumph of Despotism. The world moves as one man. Climate, language, nationality, geographical difference do not arrest the march of events, or change the application of great truths. Liberty is the same all over the world. Success here is success everywhere. Failure in America means that Hungary, and Ireland, and Poland must remain in bondage. There is not a legitimist or despot in the Old World who does not pray for the election of Horatio Seymour. To them it would have the historical significance of Charles succeeding Cromwell, and Bonaparte overthrowing the republic. It would mean the arrest of progress, the destruction of equal suffrage, remanding these States into a condition of anarchy, Rebels ascending to power under the protection of the American soldiers. When we bring this Democracy under its last analysis we find the Rebellion controlling, strengthening, mastering it. Governor Seymour and his "friends" burning negro orphan asylums in New York, found proper sympathy in General Forrest massacring negro prisoners in Fort Pillow. They meant the triumph of Democracy. They failed; and now they meet again, in Tammany Hall, to renew the effort. The Wade Hampton of Chambersburg is the same Wade Hampton who commands the delegation from South Carolina. He meant that the Rebellion should win when he rode at the head of his army—he means the same to-day. If there is any difference, it is that during the war he and his friends wished to destroy the Union, and rule over its ruins—they now mean to take possession of the Union and rule it in the interest of slavery.

We do not believe that Providence will permit such a dismal and saddening result. Many a good cause, however, has been perilled by apathy and cowardice—by failing to remember that Providence only helps those who help themselves. We have a desperate, unscrupulous, sly, and intrepid enemy. We cannot beat Governor Seymour by deriding him, or by jesting about his habits and his name to-day. These men are defeated to-day beyond any hope of salvation, if we can only bring out the vote, and show the voters the true meaning of the canvass. That is our immediate, pressing, sacred duty. Victory is within our reach. We must work to gain it.

The Candidate of Anarchy. From the N. Y. Evening Post. The nomination of Mr. Frank P. Blair for the Vice-Presidency has surprised both parties. It was certainly an act of startling boldness on the part of the Convention, if not an act of desperation. Upon the private character and personal associations of General Blair, it will not be necessary for the purposes of this campaign. It is to be hoped, to speak plainly and candidly, for the present, at least, it is quite sufficient to confine public attention to his public record, and to oppose his election on precisely the same grounds as if he were a layman and a man of good personal habits.

It is not necessary to go far back to his early years for Mr. Blair's political record. All the reputation he has ever made as a speaker and writer, was made in St. Louis during the slavery excitements of the ten years' previous to the Rebellion. Mr. Blair was then the most extreme and imprudent of all the agitators for abolition in that city. But it seems to be a mistake to assert, as so many have done, that his views were changed during the war. He has again and again avowed his continued adherence to the doctrine of political freedom and equal rights for all men.

For example, on the 7th of June, 1855, Mr. Blair was present at the Cooper Institute, and made a speech to a vast assembly of citizens upon the close of the war and the state of the country. The sentiments of that meeting concerning the freedmen were expressed in the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted, and which, alike from its politics and its grammar, might naturally be supposed to be Mr. Blair's own composition:—"Resolved, That we hold this truth to be self-evident, that he who with whom we can trust the safety of the life of the nation, we can likewise entrust the ballot to preserve; and we invoke the co-operation of the Federal and State Governments, and the people throughout the Union, to use all lawful means to establish a system of suffrage which shall be equal and just to all, black as well as white."

It seems clear that if the Republican party had recognized the ambitious General as a leader, or had even taken the reasonable and necessary pains to meet his views of his own importance, he would never have been heard of as outside of that organization. But there is no doubt that the Republicans treated him with indifference and distrust, and are now suffering the natural penalty for their treachery on his sensitive feelings.

His bid for a nomination by the Democrats was publicly made. Had he not sought for this honor, he had no objection for political criticism now. Or had he, after openly humiliating himself, by falsifying his whole past record, been dismissed in quiet contempt by the Democratic Convention, the Republicans might well afford to leave him still to silence and such reflections as he is competent to make for himself. But he is the candidate of a great party, nominally for the second office, but practically for the first in the country. The doctrines on which he was nominated, therefore, however unpleasant in themselves, must be examined.

Mr. Blair's letter to Colonel Brodhead, of June 23d, has already appeared in the Evening Post. This letter, written to the Convention, as setting forth what Mr. Blair considers "the real and only issue in this contest," and as thus constituting his claim to a nomination. In accepting him as a candidate the Convention accepted his letter as a statement of principle. It is, as a Southern paper in his interest has rightly claimed, as much a part of the Democratic platform as if it had been embodied therein.

The issue made by Mr. Blair is simple. He shows that reconstruction is nearly complete on the Congressional plan, that, if he is elected, Congress, or at least the Senate, will still be Republican, so that the reconstruction laws cannot be repealed; and therefore insists that the President must usurp the power of nullifying those laws, and by force "disperse" the State Governments now established.

This, it cannot failed to be noticed, is a far worse doctrine than secession. The doctrine of a majority of the Democratic party in 1850, that a State might withdraw from the Union, has given this country much trouble, loss, and expense, which, if most of that party had been true to the Constitution, could have been saved. But the doctrine of that party in 1853 is far worse.

But such a war is a frightful prospect for this country. It would not divide section from section, but would rend families, would fortify every house against its neighbor, would make all our streets scenes of battle.

The election of Francis P. Blair would be the approval by the people of his desire to turn our political canvass into a bloody war; to make party differences of opinion the sufficient reason for deadly personal enmity. It would be the adoption by the United States of a Government by assassination and violence, instead of a government by law.

A State, seceding, left the federal Government in its integrity and vigor. But a President, declaring war against Congress and against ten States allied with Congress, would divide the Government itself.

It is true, the contest would be unequal. When the Executive makes war on the legislature, the final triumph is pretty sure to be on the side of the latter. This is especially the case where he represents tyranny, and they stand for equal rights. The precedents of Charles I. and Louis XVI. are not likely to be varied now.

We are elected, and successful in his plan, he would be above all law, the military dictator of the land. Were he elected and yet unsuccessful, still the attempt to carry out views would cost the country more than his former Rebellion.

There is no straining, no exaggeration, in this statement of Mr. Blair's position. Here are his words:—"We cannot, therefore, undo the radical plan of reconstruction by Congressional action; the Senate will continue a bar to its repeal. Must we submit to it? How can it be overturned? It can only be overturned by the authority of the Executive."

Whether the writer of this atrocious language knew what he was saying is beside the question. Probably not; it is at least less agreeable to suppose that he was in a state of even more than usual excitement at the time, than that the former soldier of freedom has become a deliberate traitor. But he has not retracted the letter, and if elected, is pledged to carry it out.

Whether the Convention that nominated him knew what they were doing is also beside the question. Probably not; it is not attributing to them excessive patriotism or fanatical devotion to principle to assume that they knew the Democratic masses of the country too well to ask them to vote directly for treason or rebellion. But taking the most favorable supposition: Suppose the letter not to have been written early in the morning, and suppose the nomination to have been made without reference to it, thoughtlessly, by a worn out convention, still the letter has been written as a pledge, the candidate was immediately nominated upon it, and under the force of these circumstances, it is by that letter that the Democratic party in this canvass must stand or fall.

If that party succeeds, we have immediate anarchy through the South, and a general war. If that party fails, we shall have harmony and union.

A Picture for Patriots to Ponder. From the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.

The Chairman of the Tammany Convention at the time Horatio Seymour was nominated, was the Rebel General, James B. McMillen, whose State was pretended to secede from the Union. Ex-Governor Vance—the leader of the North Carolina delegation which cast its first ballot for Seymour, and hastening to follow Ohio's lead, returned to its first love—declared during the war "that he was going to fight the Yankees until hell was frozen over, and then he would fight them on the ice." He subsequently addressed the Rebel soldiers in the trenches, and urged that they "pile hell so full of Yankees that their feet would stick out of the windows." This same unrepentant Rebel, who was so enthusiastic for Seymour, halted at Richmond en route home from the Convention, and declared that, in his opinion, what the Confederacy

had fought for would be secured by the election of Seymour. Henry A. Wise, another of the latter's enthusiastic supporters, declared upon the same occasion that he did not like the platform, because it said secession was dead, whereas it was more alive than ever. The nominees were, however, unobjectionable, inasmuch as they would restore the "lost cause." The gentleman who nominated Blair for the Presidency, was none other than the Rebel General Preston, of Kentucky, who, if possible, deserved a severer punishment than the other insurgent leaders, inasmuch as he had not the excuse of State secession. He, in conjunction with Breckenridge, seduced thousands of the young men of Kentucky into the Confederacy. Preston's nomination was seconded by Fort Pillow Forrest and Wade Hampton, who said in his recent address before the alumni and undergraduates of Lee's College, "the cause for which Jackson (Stonewall) fell, cannot be in vain; but, in some form, will yet triumph." We recall that the New York Tribune reported that the disfranchised of Kentucky should cast their ballots, and the bayonet must force an entrance for them into the ballot-boxes.

Is it at all surprising that the nominations have fallen stillborn upon the Northern Democracy? In spite of the "gaseous" of their newspapers they do not fail to see that Lee's prediction has been verified, and the late insurgents have recaptured the Democratic party.

Progress of the Presidential Campaign. From the N. Y. Herald.

In view of the great fizzle in which the Tammany Fourth of July Convention closed its labors, in view of the failure of the Convention to meet on the ground on which the Democratic masses were prepared to meet it, the evident tendency of popular opinion is to revert to the times when the people found that it was not safe to trust the Democratic party. Those were the times that gave the Republican party its start in life. Republicans promised to save the nation, and the Democrats were crazy to carry out a theory that must destroy it, and this forced the people into the former party, made up though it was of Whigs, Know Nothings, Abolitionists, and all the elements of chronic opposition to popular impulse. The nation went with this party for a purpose and to do it to accomplish the purpose, but so soon as the present and the future will was withdrawn, so soon as the direct action of the people on party officials was no longer felt, as it had been through the war, the leaders of the party gave indications that their old instinct had not died out, and they proceeded to reorganize the government in accordance with these old instincts, on a tyrannical, intolerant, anti-democratic basis. Entrusted with the national power, they made a partisan use of it, their prime object being not to restore union, harmony, and peace between the rebellious States and the faithful ones, but so to frame the present and the future will as to keep down and defeat the popular will, and prevent a Democratic party from raising its head in the Southern States. Seeing their great victory abused to such purposes, the people abandoned this party by common consent, and gave victories and great gains in numerous States to any organization that promised successful opposition.

From the very nature of the case the Democracy revived everywhere, and the people rejoiced in a promised opportunity to put down the party with which they had seemed to stamp with their approval by acting through them during the war. As the country is overwhelmingly Democratic in its normal state, and as the people were everywhere giving indication that eight years' experiment of the other party had sickened them, the case seemed plain that there was to be a return to the normal condition. Only one thing was necessary—the people required to be sure that the Democracy in its revived phase was soundly national and not vitiated by the errors and bad purposes that had compelled them to cast it aside eight years since. As the Democratic party was wrong the last time, they demanded to know that it had got right before they would trust it. They waited for its nomination, to read, in the name of the individual "distilled of all its virtues," what were its views of our recent history and our present position and its purposes for the future. In the name of Horatio Seymour they see these views and purposes declared with unblushing front; they see that the Democracy has not yet arisen to a national comprehension of the war, but is resolute still to regard it as it did from Chicago, and to consider the present position of the nation as the result of the "blunder" of wrong, the whole of which must be undone, and they see that the purpose of this party in the future must be to humiliate the victor. In the very name of the candidate the Democracy repels the masses that poured out the blood and subscribed the money for the war. This will not do for a proud, generous people, confident of the right of what they have done, and thus by inevitable necessity the nation turns to Grant. Little as it likes the party that was compelled to put him up, much as it distrusts the more violent element of that party, it knows, likes, and is willing to trust Grant himself, for sound judgment, upright heart, and inflexible principle are the people's only hope—and it knows that it has no good to hope and every evil to fear in the success of the Democratic candidate ticket.

The Last Radical Canard. From the N. Y. World.

An unknown personage, whose acquaintance we fancy scrupulous people will hardly care to cultivate, by name "It is said," who seems to be just now let in the editorial charge of two newspapers in this city, "both daily," has made up what he calls his mind to assail the Democratic candidate for the Presidency with the charge which Festus in the Scriptures brought against St. Paul. Using the Times in the morning, and the Post in the evening, this inventive creature announces that, as Horatio Seymour is to be elected President of the United States next November, it might be known that his real reason for declining the Democratic nomination until it was forced upon him by the unanimous vote of the Convention, was the existence in his family of "an hereditary insanity which threatens him also, and from which he can only hope to escape by avoiding excitement and severe labor."

We are very much mistaken in our estimate alike of Mr. Raymond, the responsible editor of the Times, and of Mr. Bryant, the responsible editor of the Post, if either of these gentlemen can need any comments of ours to make him thereby realize the dishonor put upon him by this pleasing device of the mysterious Mr. "It is said."

But letting that pass, and assuming that Mr. Seymour, or any other statesman who should rise the standard of the National Democratic party, might naturally enough be supposed by an anonymous and exasperated Radical to be "mad," we should like to know what sort of light this accusation of "hereditary insanity" made against the Democratic candidate by Mr. "It is said," a being unknown alike to the tax-gatherer and to the faculty, can be expected to throw upon the charge of incontinent delirium tremens brought, not by an anonymous

inventor, but by Wendell Phillips, Theodore Tilton and other highly observant nominative cases, against the Radical candidate, General Grant? Forbes, Winslow, and other authorities have proved to most people's satisfaction that everybody in the world is more or less insane, and of course, therefore, that everybody's father and mother must also have been more or less insane before everybody was born. But nobly, as we know of, has yet undertaken to prove that everybody in the world is more or less addicted to delirium tremens. When John Wilkes was accused of squinting, an ardent admirer of his protested that he "squinted no more than a gentleman and a man of honor ought to squint." But even Mr. Wilkes' ardent admirer might have recoiled from asserting that his idol, being accused of intemperance, "got drunk no more than a gentleman and a man of honor ought to get drunk." Insanities come, sang the old Latin poet; and we dare say that the "truly lofty" Union Leaguers of Philadelphia may have thought that Horatio Seymour was quite "mad" when in June, 1855, he hurried on the troops of New York to the thousand to drive back the Rebel invaders from the soil of Pennsylvania, although its radical rulers had vituperated and slandered both himself personally and the great party to which he belongs for months after month. But, if we are all mad, we do not all of us "fall down" whenever we "stand up before a bottle," as Wendell Phillips declares that the "General of the Armies" invariably does. Nor do we all of us get ourselves into for playing fast and loose with the Government funds, as the publisher of the Post, Mr. Henderson contrived to do. The only "hereditary insanity" of which Horatio Seymour is a victim is what the radicals regard as a "hereditary insanity" of belief in the principles of Jeffersonian Democracy. From this we really don't believe he can escape, even by "avoiding excitement and hard labor." On the contrary, he was led by this "hereditary insanity" to undergo, as Governor of New York, an amount of "excitement and hard labor" in defending the soil of the North against the Rebel invasions, and the liberties of the North against radical usurpations which can hardly be paralleled by the obligations even of the high office to which the people propose to call him in November next. If we were engaged in a battle of genealogies it might be easy to show that if General Grant really be the "root of Jesse" he is in imminent peril of taking his own life, in which case it is horribly certain that Schuyler Colfax would be the heir of the radical banner. But this pending Presidential fight is to be fought out, not between the fathers of the candidates, but between the candidates themselves and the principles which they represent. As the radicals, owning themselves to be the ground of principle, really seek to make light on the personal qualities, habits, tastes and tendencies of the candidates, we shall be sorry for General Grant, but we shall not feel at liberty to decline the encounter.

Counting the Votes—Wade Hampton's Threat. From the N. Y. Times.

The South Carolinian soldier who threatens revolution unless the white people be allowed control of the Southern vote in November next, has an apologist in the Democratic journal of this city. Not an apologist of the outspoken sort, however, but one who perverts and misstates Wade Hampton's meaning and then hurries to his rescue.

What Wade Hampton demands is "that the white people of the South shall vote, whether the States in which they live have been reconstructed or not—that Mississippi, which has rejected the new constitution; Virginia, which may render a similar verdict; and Georgia, whose Democratic legislators propose to defeat the Constitutional amendment, shall participate with North Carolina and other restored States in the voting for President. He demanded that the Southern whites, under other organizations than those formed or to be formed under acts of Congress, shall have admission to the Electoral College. And he declares that if by these devices a majority of white votes be secured for Seymour and Blair—leaving the colored vote out of the account—these candidates shall be installed in power "in spite of all the bayonets that shall be brought against them." These purposes, we have reason to believe, that they are shared by that class of extremists for whom Wade Hampton spoke in this city.

The World, however, conjures up a totally different hypothesis. It ignores the claim set up in behalf of the Southern whites regarding reconstruction and other laws, and seeks to justify Wade Hampton's threat by assuming that it was directed against the possible exclusion, by Congress, of States restored to representation. Thus it theorizes:—"Suppose, to illustrate the principle, that the result of the election should depend upon the electoral votes of the newly-admitted State of Florida; that the votes of Florida should be Democratic, and that Congress should bar them out and declare General Grant elected. Now, on the supposition of a fair election in which a high Democratic party submit? The question answers itself; only a negative answer is possible."

The supposition is absurd. There is no more probability of excluding Florida, or any other of the Southern States which have been restored to the Union, than of excluding New York or Maryland. The counting of their votes, whether Republican or Democratic, is not optional with Congress, whose action on Mr. Edmunds' resolution, as amended, is a guarantee of straightforwardness and adherence to duty. The Constitution protects the right of States which the Union, as the reconstructed States will be. And the joint resolution adopted the other day declares in advance that the votes of communities which may not have complied with the terms of the Reconstruction acts will not be admitted. The question will turn, not upon the party complexion of the votes, but upon the relation of the States to the Union. Florida, being in, will vote as of course. Mississippi, being not, will not be allowed to vote, equally of course.

Will the World drop fanciful conjectures, and meet fairly the question raised by Wade Hampton's menace? We don't care what might be done in the presence of a contingency which cannot arise. We want to know what, in the World's opinion, may, should, and will be done if Seymour and Blair obtain a majority by including in their calculation the votes of Mississippi, and perhaps Virginia and Georgia—if the reconstruction of these States be not at the time perfected?

Does our contemporary demand the admission to the Electoral College of the entire South, irrespective of the Reconstruction acts? and is it prepared to recommend a resort to violence if admission be denied to portions of the South, on the ground that, for purposes of representation, they have not been restored to the Union? These are the queries suggested by Wade Hampton's declaration, and we invite the World to face and answer them, squarely and frankly. Wade Hampton is too brave a man to dodge the consequences of his own argument; and if the World would become his champion it should at least imitate his candor.

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American Enterprise—China. From the N. Y. Tribune. We are accustomed to regard the Panama Railroad as the very best exemplification yet perfected of the American energy and capacity. The difficulties encountered were peculiar and enormous; laborers could scarcely be procured, and those who could be died nearly as fast as they were obtained; the cost far exceeded any previous estimate; yet the projectors undauntedly struggled on, and at length achieved a magnificent success—a triumph which has sensibly diminished the sum of human misery and increased the aggregate of human wealth and comfort.

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